

COOLIE TRADE.

[To accompany Bill H. R. No. 657]

APRIL 16, 1860.

Mr. ELIOT, from the Committee on Commerce, made the following

REPORT.

The committee to whom was referred the following resolution, to wit:
“Resolved, That the Committee on Commerce be directed to inquire into the expediency of prohibiting by law all American vessels from engaging in the coolie trade, or from transporting apprentices, so called, to the West Indies, or other parts of the world,” have given to the same their attention, and report:

That about twenty-one years ago, soon after the emancipation of the slaves in the West Indian colonies, an emigration commenced of laboring men and women in British ships from the East Indian possessions of Great Britain to the port of British Guiana, on the coast of South America. The earliest attempt to introduce these Indian laborers or coolies was not fortunate in its results. Disease and quick mortality followed the emigrant. The labor acquired by the planter was of much value. The Indian coolie was found to possess some useful qualities. But the unaccustomed climate and unusual life which surrounded and pressed upon him in South America, and the injudicious or the unkind treatment which he encountered, induced terrible forms of disease, accompanied by acute suffering and certain death.

Knowledge of the facts attending this emigration was speedily carried to England, and an excitement was aroused at once among different men, some of whom had advocated and some of whom had doubted the wisdom of West Indian emancipation. Great indignation was expressed against those who had permitted and all who had engaged in the Guiana importations of labor from East India, and the expressions of discontent and of indignant remonstrance were so determined that immediate action was had by the government at India tending to stop at once further emigration. But the value of emigrant labor had been felt upon the plantations at Guiana, and efforts were soon made in various quarters to bring about a renewal of the emigration, under such regulations and restrictions as should be found necessary to protect the life and health of the emigrant. The earnest action of the Indian government was had, to the end that the emigrant should be transported with safety and in comfort, and that such con-

stant oversight should be exercised in his behalf, at his new home, as would, so far as practicable, preserve his health. In 1842 an order in council was procured, by virtue of which that emigration was renewed. Great efforts appear to have been made to promote the welfare of the Indian laborer. Regulations were adopted restricting the number of passengers to be carried by the emigrant ships, and providing such accommodations for them upon the passage as would advance their comfort. The terms of the contract to be made for labor, the compensation to be paid for service, the duration of the service, and its character, were required to be agreed upon and explained to the understanding of the laborer.

The expenses of transportation were a subject of charge upon the treasury of the colony, but with the right reserved of calling upon the party into whose service the emigrant subsequently entered to repay such expenses. It was required that the emigrant, before he engaged himself to leave his home, should be made to know where he was going, and to understand the character and conditions of the proposed engagement.

This emigration has continued to Guiana and to Trinidad. But the Mauritius has been the favorite point to which this emigration has been directed. At the end of the time for which the contracts of service were made, the Indian coolies were, by the terms of the agreement, sent back to India without cost to themselves. And although the amount of wages was small, not exceeding four dollars a month, with clothing and board in addition, yet, at the end of the five years' apprenticeship or term of service, these simple men carried home such sums of money as made them comparatively independent, and induced others to seek their fortunes in like way.

The importation of East Indian coolies into the single port of Mauritius, between 1843 and 1857, is indicated in the following table :

1843, males,	18,105 ;	females,	888.
1844, do	44,454 ;	do	5,047.
1850, do	51,240 ;	do	12,572.
1855, do	96,142 ;	do	25,131.
1856, do	100,541 ;	do	28,245.
1857, do	102,821 ;	do	31,466.

The effect of so large introduction of this foreign labor upon the plantations of this people has been great, and the increase in the product of sugar, from 28,000 tons in 1838 to about 118,000 tons in 1856, shows that the care of the government at India and in Mauritius had been extended over this emigration and over the Indian coolies, who were the subjects of it. The great increase in the emigration of females indicates an increasing willingness on the part of the emigrants themselves to remain permanently in the new homes which they had sought.

The committee have deemed it to be their duty, under the general terms of the resolution referred to them, to present these facts concerning the Indian emigration of coolies which has been mainly carried on in British vessels and under the immediate supervision of the

government in India. But the resolution does not call for any recommendation by the committee of legislative action respecting this branch of the coolie emigration. Legitimate emigration under proper instructions, when the parties seeking employment know what they want and make their own bargains, and receive the stipulated compensation, and retain and exercise the right of selecting their own employers, and of returning to their own homes at the end of their term of service, will generally regulate itself. It has not been the policy of the American government to place obstacles in the way of intelligent and voluntary emigration.

But the "Chinese coolie trade," as it is generally called, and as it has been conducted from the beginning, is not a "trade" between emigrant and shipmaster. The coolie is seldom a party to any contract, but the subject of a contract made between parties seeking to derive, through deception and by fraud, unlawful gain by the barter, without his volition, of his skill and labor for a consideration not known to him and not intended to benefit him. From the moment of his capture the coolie is a slave. He is the subject, first, of the meanest deception, and then of a servitude in no respect practically different from that which the confessed African slave trade binds upon its victim. That is the trade concerning which your committee have sought for information. The attention of the Christian world has been recently drawn to it by atrocities committed and by sufferings endured, which it is difficult to describe by any language that would not appropriately describe the African slave trade in its most odious form.

There has been, since the settlement of California, a Chinese emigration which has been voluntary and profitable mutually to the contracting parties. The discovery of gold in Australia divided this emigration, which has since tended to both places at the option of the emigrants themselves. There may have been deception practiced in this business. Where gain is the object of pursuit, the controlling mind will shape the contract, and may secure undue advantage. When ignorance bargains with knowledge, a profit secured may be fraudulent, which would be fair between parties of equal intelligence. Your committee have found it to be out of their power to procure satisfactory statistical information respecting this emigration, or such facts connected with it as would seem to require at the present time the interference of Congress.

The laws of Congress now in force "regulating the carriage of passengers in merchant vessels" would apply to all American vessels engaged in such emigration to California. But the provisions of those laws do not apply to the carriage of passengers in American vessels from a foreign port to another foreign port. The laws at present in force upon this subject are those of February 22, 1847, and March 3, 1849. The intent of these laws was apparently to protect American ports from diseases which might be engendered by the arrival of passenger ships unduly crowded. By the provisions of the first law "a master of a vessel taking on board any greater number of passengers than in the foregoing proportion with intent to transport the same from the United States to any foreign port or place, or from any foreign port or place to the United States, is guilty," &c.

By the terms of the act of March 3, 1849, "all vessels bound from any port in the United States to any port or place in the Pacific ocean or its tributaries, or from any such port or place to any port in the United States on the Atlantic or its tributaries, shall be subject to the provisions of all the laws now in force relating to the carriage of passengers in merchant vessels." There is reason to believe that the provisions of law now prohibiting the carriage of an undue number of passengers from foreign ports into ports of the United States, and regulating the transportation so as in other respects to secure the comfort and the health of passengers, should be extended so as to apply to American vessels carrying passengers directly into ports other than those of the United States. Such provision will be found in the bill accompanying this report.

It remains for your committee now to describe the "coolie trade" properly so called; to trace its history so far as they have been able to ascertain the facts respecting it; to describe its iniquities, and to recommend the passage of such an act as will effectually prohibit its conduct by American masters in the merchant vessels of the United States.

This trade is of recent origin. It seems to have commenced about the time when the laws against the prosecution of the African slave trade were enforced with the greatest stringency, and resting in theory upon the voluntary action of the emigrants themselves, it seemed at first an innocent and worthy source of mercantile profit. Several merchants of unquestioned honor and of high integrity of character in the commercial cities on our Atlantic seaboard engaged without hesitation and without suspicion of wrong in the shipment of Asiatic coolies from Chinese ports to Cuba and to the Brazils, and to other places upon the South American coast. Among the merchants who had thus, to some extent, connected themselves with this trade were two gentlemen who were members of the government of the Boston Board of Trade. But before the public attention had been drawn to this subject in this country they had ascertained so much of the true character of the trade as to induce their immediate abandonment of it at large personal loss. At their request a committee of members of the Board of Trade was appointed to receive their statements concerning this business. The Hon. Alexander H. Rice, the present representative in Congress from Boston, was chairman of that committee. The following is the closing paragraph of the report:

"It will thus be seen that, late in the year 1854, Messrs. Sampson & Tappan made inquiries respecting the coolie trade at points where it was conducted; that the result of these inquiries was satisfactory to their minds; that they subsequently contracted with the government of Brazil for delivering at Rio de Janeiro two thousand Chinese colonists, who should be liable, on arrival, to have their contracts for five years' labor each transferred to Brazilian farmers and landlords; that, at the expiration of their term of service, land should be given them on the frontier, or sold at low price in other localities, as an inducement to remain, or that the government should facilitate the return of those who might wish to go back to China; that this contract with the Brazilian government was guaranteed by a forfeiture of two thou-

sand pounds sterling if not executed ; that subsequently to making this contract, Messrs. Sampson & Tappan had reason to believe they had been misinformed respecting the character of the business in which they had embarked, and that they made further investigations by correspondence and conversation with the United States commissioner to China, and by correspondence with their agent in China ; that the result of this new investigation was to change their views of the character of the enterprise, and that they sent positive instructions to their agent to abandon the business at whatever cost, and to divert the ships intended for this business to other branches of trade ; that the contract referred to was not fulfilled ; and it appears from the dates of the correspondence that the business was abandoned by Messrs. Sampson & Tappan some months before any public discussion respecting the character of the coolie trade had taken place in this country, and before it had been brought into disrepute in commercial circles generally ; and furthermore, that this abandonment of contract was made at the risk of heavy forfeiture, probably at the sacrifice of large pecuniary returns."

It is a mortifying fact that up to the present time American ship-masters and northern owners are found willing to connect themselves with a trade in many of its features as barbarous as the African slave trade. In one respect it is more abhorrent to an honorable mind than that trade which the civilized world condemns as piracy. The captured African is not made to believe that he is changing his condition for the better ; but the Asiatic coolie is entrapped and deceived by false pretences of promised gain into the power of men who, having cheated him of freedom, enslave him for gain.

In a despatch from William H. Robertson, acting consul of the United States, dated Havana, July 27, 1855, Mr. Robertson communicates to the Secretary of State, Mr. Marcy, the intelligence of the arrival of the American ship *Hound*, owned in Stonington, Connecticut. This vessel, with a register of $713\frac{3}{8}$ tons, imported from Macao 230 coolies, called "passengers." The consignees were the "Colonization Company," represented by Pereda, Machado & Co. These gentlemen protested against the conduct of Captain Peck, the master of the *Hound*, in not having brought in his vessel 400 "passengers" who had been "prepared to embark" in that ship. Acting upon the humane advice of Dr. Parker, then the United States commissioner at China, Captain Peck refused to receive more than 230 "colonists" as passengers. Mr. Robertson states in his despatch that "Captain Peck expresses himself as heartily ashamed of being concerned in such a trade, and states that, from information obtained from the *passengers* on the passage as to the manner of their being obtained in their country, and subsequently of the manner of their being disposed of after their arrival here" (at Havana,) "he cannot but consider this trade as bad, if not worse, than anything he has read or heard of the African slave trade."

Early and persistent remonstrance against this traffic in Chinese coolies was made by the honorable Peter Parker, the accomplished commissioner and minister plenipotentiary of the United States to China, after his arrival at Hong Kong, in December, 1855 ; and in

January 1856, the following "public notification" was issued by him:

"The undersigned, commissioner and minister plenipotentiary of the United States of America to China, in accordance with the instructions of his government in relation to the so called-coolie trade, 'publicly to discountenance the same on his arrival in China,' issues this public notification to all whom it may concern:

"Whereas the history of the traffic in Chinese coolies, as carried on in vessels of the United States and under other flags during the past few years, is replete with illegalities, immoralities, and revolting and inhuman atrocities, strongly resembling those of the African slave trade in former years, some of them exceeding the horrors of the 'middle passage,' women and children having been bought for the purpose, and others not merely seduced under false pretences, ignorant of their destination, but some forcibly abducted and violently borne to countries unknown to them, never to return; and not only by the ancient statutes of the Chinese empire, but by recent proclamation, the imperial government has prohibited the same, threatening with death the 'brokers, hardened miscreants, who impose upon the people and seduce them to their destruction;' and

"Whereas the correspondence of the imperial government with this legation has evinced its strong disapproval of the traffic, describing it in terms which place it upon a level with the slave trade itself; and admitting the trade proper, *per se*, it has been carried on in *localities where foreign trade* is not permitted by *any treaties*, and is therefore illegal; and the foreign name has been rendered odious by this traffic, hundreds and thousands of lives having been inhumanly sacrificed, not, perhaps, intentionally, but nevertheless they have been sacrificed, and in some instances in a manner than which nothing more revolting can be conceived, whilst others who have survived have scarcely been more fortunate; and

"Whereas the amicable relations of the two governments are being jeopardized, and honorable and lawful commerce imperilled, and even the lives of those engaged in the inhuman pursuit have been exposed to the vengeance of those whose relations and friends have been bought, kidnapped, or grossly deceived in the progress of the coolie trade:

"The undersigned therefore calls upon all citizens of the United States to desist from this irregular and immoral traffic, and makes known to all whom it may concern the high disapprobation thereof of the government of the United States, and forewarns all who may hereafter engage therein that they will not only forfeit the protection of their government while so doing, in whatever consequences they may be involved, but furthermore render themselves liable to the heavy penalties to which the traffic, if as hitherto in some instances conducted, may expose them.

"This notification respects the 'coolie trade,' in contradistinction to the voluntary emigration of Chinese adventurers; between these there exists a wide difference.

"Regulations for the business of furnishing Chinese labor to countries that may desire the same, and for affording facilities to Chinese

voluntarily disposed to render such service, in providing outfit and passage and means, and freedom to return at their option, may be a subject for future treaty stipulation, or government arrangement on the part of the western natives and China. The United States consuls will be instructed to convey copies of this notification to the proper Chinese authorities at the five ports.

"Given under my hand and seal of office this 10th day of January, 1856.

"PETER PARKER."

This action of Dr. Parker was in accordance with the wishes and pursuant to the instructions of the government of the United States, as will be apparent from the following letter of Dr. Parker to Messrs. Sampson & Tappan :

"LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
"Shanghai, September 8, 1856.

"DEAR SIR: I am in receipt of your favor of the 24th June, 1856, enclosing a copy of a letter received from Mr. Collings, who represents the house of Boird, Le Cocq & Co., in London, through whom your contract to import two thousand coolies into Brazil was made with the Brazilian minister on the part of his government, requesting a certified copy of the instructions of the United States under which I acted in issuing my notification of the 8th January last, and the original and translations of the proclamation alluded to in that paper. I have to inform you that compliance with the former part of the request is impossible, as my instructions were received *in person* and not in writing. In a letter of instructions, dated Washington, April 27, 1855, the honorable Secretary of State observed: 'Many topics not alluded to in these instructions have been considered in our several conversations, and I have expressed to you the views of this government upon them.' The topic of the Chinese coolie trade was one of these. The circumstances under which I learned the views of the government upon the subject I will briefly state. A letter from your Mr. Sampson, dated September 3, 1855, informed me that he, or your firm, might have occasion to address me in my official capacity on the subject of the coolie trade after my return to China. That I might know how my government would have me act in such an event, I embraced an early opportunity of presenting the subject to the Secretary of State. It was at the Department of State, and Governor Marcy, Mr. Cushing, the Attorney General, and Mr. R. M. McLane, being present, this subject was broached. I was struck with the subject, which was considered 'one degree worse than the slave trade,' and I was told by the Secretary of State that 'under given circumstances it would be my duty publicly to discountenance it.' Before reaching China I learned the particulars of the awful tragedy on board the coolie ship 'Waverley'—more revolting than the horrors of the black hole in Calcutta. On my arrival I deemed it my duty, under my instructions, to look into the subject, little aware that it was of so serious a character as I found it, and in the only way practicable to discountenance the traffic, so far as the United States flag

is concerned. My action upon the occasion was immediately transmitted to Washington, and if I had misunderstood or misinterpreted the views of government ample time has elapsed for my error to have been pointed out, which has not been done.

"In addressing the Secretary of State upon the subject, (despatch No. 1, dated January 14, 1856,) I had occasion to remark: 'When I came to the investigation of this traffic I had no adequate conception of its enormity, and the strong terms in which I have described it are fully sustained by official documents and the most reliable testimony, (*vide* correspondence upon the subject of emigration from China, presented by command of her Majesty to the House of Commons, 1853, and House of Lords, 1855.)' These papers I have not at hand. In them was contained, so far as my memory now serves me, the proclamation particularly referred to in my notification and was translated by Mr. Morrison, interpreter to her Britannic Majesty's consulate at Amoy, and which I think was included in the papers of Dr. Winchester upon the traffic and embraced in the above correspondence. On my return to the south of China I will endeavor to obtain not only the translation, but, if practicable, a copy of the original Chinese from the British consulate at Amoy. In the meantime I beg to enclose a translation of an edict by the governor of Canton—the original Chinese is mislaid or at the south—which also I will attend to on my return thither.

"The mail for this month has already departed, but as a steamer is about leaving for Hong Kong I write thus briefly, with the hope it may reach that place in time for the mail for Europe of the 15th instant.

"I remain, dear sirs, very truly, your friend and servant,

"PETER PARKER.

"Messrs. SAMPSON & TAPPAN, *Boston*."

The disastrous voyage of the *Waverly*, to which allusion is made in the preceding letter, is yet too recent to have been forgotten; but it has been followed by others more tragic, which will be referred to hereafter.

The *Waverly* was an American ship, and sailed from Swatao, an illegal port, even for legal trade, bound to Callao, with four hundred and fifty Chinese coolies on board. On the 25th of October, 1855, she put in at Manilla on account of the death of her master, Captain Wellman. Owing to an unfounded rumor that infectious disease was epidemic in the ship, she was ordered into quarantine, and was then sent to Carito, a distance of about six miles, for "observation," and in order that needful remedies might be applied. The coolies, supposing they had arrived at the end of their voyage, wished to go on shore, and tried to get possession of the boats for that purpose. The acting master fired among them. The crew armed themselves and quickly drove the passengers below and closed up the hatches.

The hatches were opened some twelve or fourteen hours afterwards, and it was found "that nearly three hundred of the unfortunate beings had perished from suffocation." When it was ascertained

that no contagious disease had been on board the ship, she was released from quarantine. The captain said that he had no idea there was not ventilation enough in the between decks to give air to the Chinamen, and was "fearful of being overpowered," and therefore that the hatches were left closed.

Your committee proceed now to state the manner in which this involuntary coolie emigration is conducted. Until the recent treaties with England, Canton was the only Chinese port free to foreign vessels. But within a few years four other ports have been opened, to wit: Amoy, Foo Chow, Ningpo and Shanghai. This was effected by the treaty of peace signed on the 29th of August, 1842, on board the *Cornwallis*, by Sir Henry Pottinger, on the part of Great Britain, and Ke-ying, Elepoo, and Ninkien, on the part of China. By the terms of this treaty consular officers, under the appointment of foreign powers, were permitted to reside at the five ports to protect the commercial interests of their respective nations, and the island of Hong Kong was ceded to Great Britain. On the 31st of December, 1845, a treaty was ratified between China and the United States, which contained the essential provisions of the treaties with England, and provided for the erection at the five ports of chapels, cemeteries, and hospitals. Permission was given to ships-of-war to visit Chinese ports. Similar treaties have been made between France and the Emperor of China.

From these ports, but chiefly from Amoy, the shipments of coolies were made during the earlier emigration. But as the traffic enlarged itself, and its great profits enticed lawless men to engage in it, the coolie traders have found it more easy to evade the few provisions of law which could be enforced at the legal ports where consuls resided by carrying their vessels to illegal ports and loading them there.

In a despatch from Dr. Parker to Mr. Marcy, dated Macao February 12, 1856, it is said that "the statistics of the coolie trade for 1855, at Swatou, an illegal port, even for the legal trade, are as follows:

	Ships.	Tonnage.	Coolies.
American.....	5	6,592	3,050
British	3	3,821	1,938
Chilian.....	1	500	250
Peruvian.....	3	1,860	1,150
	<hr/> 12	<hr/> 12,773	<hr/> 6,388
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>

The coolies are procured by purchase, and are, in fact, as truly the subject of barter and sale as the negroes upon the coast of Africa. Native Chinese are employed to entice from their homes such as may be persuaded by hope of profit to themselves to leave their friends. These men are employed by "brokers," who themselves deal with the shipmasters or agents. The brokers send their emissaries into all parts of the country in search of men and boys, who are deceived by false pretences to place themselves in the power of men who are remorseless as death. They are sometimes beguiled and sometimes kidnapped. But whether they are obtained by fraud or force, when

once they are in the custody of the broker they are his merchandise. The pretence of contract is sometimes continued, but the disguise imperfectly conceals the fact of slavery. "The men being inveigled to barbarian houses and ships, are publicly sold. When once amongst them, they cannot understand their gibberish, and they are kept in close confinement. They may implore Heaven, and their tears may wet the earth, but their complaints are uttered in vain."

A paper published at Canton, in October, 1855, and widely circulated, describes this trade as carried on at Macao, a peninsula near the mouth of the Canton river, in China, which has been for about two hundred and seventy-four years in the possession of the Portuguese.

"There are already in existence five places vulgarly called "Chütsze Kwan," or "pig-pens." * * * * *

"Each barracoon procures its men from swindlers, who obtain them through deception. The price they pay for each head is eight dollars. They frequently purchase and keep them in readiness, so that one of these barracoons may have several tens of men and another several hundreds. They wait to embark together, and all are shipped to foreign countries, where they are resold for perhaps over a hundred dollars a head." * * * * *

"But how were these men seduced? Plainly at the outset, because they are often taken in by swindlers, who would address them as follows: 'I have a relative who keeps a carpenter-shop at Macao. By my recommending you to his shop you will receive, in the first year, a few moce per month for your wages. Your apprenticeship will expire at the end of three years. In that case, your wages monthly will be four dollars.' Upon seeing a neat and slender fellow, he would say: 'I should like to recommend you to a foreign house as a servant.' Meeting with the stout and strong, he would say: 'There are men who would furnish you with a capital, and I should like to go with you to California.' Finding his victim wealthy, talented, and young, he would accost him and say: 'I should like to accompany you to see the sights, and take you with me to a refreshment room.' Thus he watches opportunities, and adapts himself to circumstances, employing, moreover, numerous plans and schemes which cannot be discovered and stated, to seduce his victims. When once the simpletons credit his fair speeches, they are then forthwith accompanied by him through Tih Hing Kie, (Howquas street,) in Canton, where they step on board a Macao fast boat that serves as a jail for criminals. On the next day they are hurried down to Macao, where, upon landing, they are taken to the barracoons; in these they are taught what to say; and as they pass muster or examination, they are not permitted to cry aloud." * * * * *

"Though some who reached this hell on earth against their own inclinations, yet they could not help it. For this reason some undertook to climb our walls, but were recaptured by foreign devils, and were accordingly flogged to death before the rest as a warning. In one of these barracoons some have even gone so far as to commit suicide by hanging themselves. I have known of ten such cases."

On the 14th April, 1856, the governor of Canton issued the follow-

ing proclamation against this trade, which also alludes to the manner in which the business was then conducted.

Proclamation of his excellency Pih-Kwei, the governor of Canton.

A stringent prohibition of kidnapping men and holding them for a ransom, and of enticing men to go to foreign countries, in order to tranquillize the people.

Whereas there are those who seize and kidnap young boys and girls, and conceal them in dark secluded recesses to extort a ransom, and for the sake of gain, seduce persons to go to foreign countries never to return; such intriguing traitors are bent exclusively on gain, regardless of the inhuman injuries they inflict on others, in utter contempt of the law. On examining and reading over the old records, I am so exasperated that the hair upon my head stands erect.

Upon examination I find that these outrages are for the most part perpetrated by the rascals of the Shuntih, Tung-Kwang, and Heang Shan, who generally go out of the jurisdiction to which they belong to diffuse their venom; those whom they kidnap they closely conceal in caverns among the hills, and, if destitute of money, put them to death. Among them are some who escape, but they are unable to give the names, surnames, and residence of the kidnappers. As to those who are enticed to go to foreign countries, they are in the first instance tempted by the hope of gain, but in the end they are put under restraint like buffaloes and horses, till death gives them repose.

Of these devices the ignorant people are not aware, and multitudes are involved in calamity.

Now the monstrous sprites of Canton have just been suppresssd, it is necessary that everything should be properly attended to as respects the future.

I, the governor, protect the people as my children, and hate wicked men as I do my enemies; therefore, besides issuing my orders to the prefects and magistrates within my jurisdiction secretly to employ guides and search and find them out, and then examine and punish them, I also issue this special proclamation, commanding both the militia and people of this province that whenever it happens that you meet with vagabonds from other places of suspicious aspect, from three to five in a group, with sharp swords about their persons, immediately give notice of the fact, and, with united strength, arrest them. I, the governor, after trial and conviction, will reward you liberally, according to the number arrested, and will take the vagabonds themselves and punish them to the utmost extent of the law as a warning to others, and thus exterminate this class of rascals, so injurious to the people. Let each tremblingly obey; no opposition. Special edict.

3d month, 10th day, (April 14, 1856.)

At nearly the same time the government of Peru attempted to control the importation of Asiatic coolies into Callao, and published the following paper, from which the mode of conducting this trade appears:

[Translation.]

LIMA, March 5, 1856.

Considering—

First. That the introduction of Asiatic colonists, (*colonos Asiaticos*,) besides its unsuitableness to the country, on account of their being of a degraded race, is degenerating into a species of slave trade, which cannot continue without outraging humanity or violating the principle of freedom and equality proclaimed by the government ;

Second. That the contracts entered into are infractions of the article 1635 of the civil code, where they are not for the benefit of the colonists, but only for the benefit of the speculators ; that, on account of the large amount paid by the master, (patron,) the colonists compromise themselves to serve for a long and fixed time masters with whom they have not contracted, and whose service they are prohibited to change ;

Third. That the excessive number of those persons shipped in small vessels, and the scarcity and bad quality of the provisions, have caused the death of at least a third portion of the colonists, and the remainder to arrive at the port with dangerous diseases ;

Fourth. That, in some cases, the rigor employed on board the vessels, as a measure consequent to the deception and violence with which these criminal speculations are made, has occasioned repeated catastrophes, which it is necessary to prevent ;

Fifth. That the government should not authorize an abuse as repugnant as it is offensive to morality and the law, from which only the speculators in the traffic obtain profit ;

It is resolved :

ARTICLE 1. That four months from this date the introduction of Asiatic colonists (*colonos Asiaticos*) by contract, in the cruel and violent manner with which it has been effected to this day, shall be prohibited.

ART. 2. The masters and officers of vessels arriving with Chinese shall prove, in the ports of the republic, their having embarked voluntarily ; and, in case it is proved that they have been taken by force or deception, and carried in numbers for which the vessel is not capable, they shall be brought to trial for the crime, and shall pay for the damages and injuries they may cause.

ART. 3. The Chinese, who may henceforward enter the territory of the republic may freely exercise their trade, or may hire themselves to any employer, according to the existing laws, and they shall fulfil only those contracts entered into with defined persons, they being responsible only for the advance of wages which they themselves may have received.

Let it be communicated and published.

Signed by his excellency.

Countersigned :

MAR.

Mr. Williams, the secretary and interpreter of the United States legation, translated the following " argument respecting kidnapping and selling pigs to foreign vessels," which was forwarded by Dr. Parker to the State Department in January, 1857.

On argument respecting kidnapping and selling pigs to foreign vessels.

Among the most distressing things for man is to leave his friends, (as in pursuit of a livelihood,) and to die away from them, still (in such a case) if he becomes diseased and sick, and medicines are un-availing to cure his ailments, he can calmly close his eyes in death, his relatives sorrowing, as they do, for his loss, will yet in time lay aside their mourning.

But what is ten thousand times more distressing than this is what I have myself personally heard and seen, is being kidnapped and sold on board foreign ships—it is a thing that excites the bitterest hatred and grief.

Recently a set of reckless villains have devised a cunning scheme, going around from hamlet to village, in cities and fairs, where they kidnap silly people and sell them on board foreign vessels, in which they are taken to foreign regions, there to toil forever in bitter service. This is vulgarly called selling pigs, and, in truth, it differs in nothing from the sale of swine.

These miscreants go prowling about everywhere, and when they see a poor and sorry man they embrace the occasion to beguile and deceive him, as the circumstances of the case suggest; they will tell him, for instance: It is very distressing to see you live so beggarly and wretched, and I have a way to relieve you which I can recommend; there are foreign ships about going to Australia, to Foo Chow, to Shanghai, or elsewhere, where there is great demand for workmen. You need to be at no expense for passage or outfit, and if there is any profit they promise to divide it with you. The poor man hearing these crafty and delusive words invariably falls in with the proposition, and is urged and cajoled to go at once on board to see the captain. He knows not that once there (for this man is in league with the foreigner,) he will be straightway confined in the ship's hold and the hatches locked on him. Then, though he had wings, he could not escape, he can only uselessly regret his fate. While his body is thus confined in the hold of the ship, like a man in a dark hellish dungeon, his thoughts recur to his father and mother, whose toilsome care in nurturing him has been, as it were, incontinently thrown into the deep. The love and kindness between husband and wife is thus vilely sundered for no purpose, and children, relatives, and friends can no more be seen in this life.

If a man falls sick on board, and his malady is not cured in four or five days, he is tied up with a hempen rope and cast into the sea or on the beach. While I was passing once in a boat I saw several men thus tied up, who were imploring the gods to deliver them and save their lives.

Really I could not bear to hear them, and wished to go to their rescue; but my boatmen strongly urged me not to do so, alleging that the foreigners had pistols in their hands, and I should only get injured if I tried.

Those who live to reach the foreign country, there to toil in bitter service; if cold, they have only a shirt to cover them; if hungry, only

vile rice for food ; if thirsty, only water from the hills to drink ; and at night they sleep in forests and thickets. Every day they are hurried to carry earth or plough the soil, or made to transport stones, or dig the mines without cessation. If one happens to idly rest, the foreigner cudgels him at his pleasure, and thus he drags out a toilsome existence, seeking for death in vain. Moreover, there are dreadful wild beasts and venomous serpents which pursue men, and awfully furious storms of rain, all of which grievously injure and weaken the body. How sad, how distressing to endure all these calamities in consequence of the deception of one hour !

Now, any man who has received a body from his progenitors, and was born in civilized and affluent China, can, if he be diligent and thrifty and do not fail in his duty, support himself and live on the fruits of his labor. Why should he be so foolish as to be cajoled by rascals and sold into foreign parts, separated from his own flesh and blood while alive, and then become a vagabond devil in unknown regions when he is dead ?

I have a nephew who has been to those countries where he saw more than twenty thousand Chinese who had been thus deceived, but he contrived to escape after many adventures, and has told all this to me.

I on my part presume to let others know it, in hopes that benevolent and kind gentlemen will circulate this information in villages, so that everybody may be aware of these schemes and not fall into the traps.

Perhaps they will petition the authorities to rigorously punish such fellows, that others be warned from these bad practices, and the lives of our countrymen be saved. This is what I earnestly hope.

As for those truculent villains who act so cruelly, they no longer retain any trace of heavenly rectitude, nor even of human feeling.

Even if they escape punishment in this world, they certainly will suffer the destruction of hades. Let them, therefore, straightway reform their conduct, nor imagine there is no retribution for such conduct.

I am aware that I am not an elegant writer, but I hope the readers of this will not cast it away because of its rude style.

A respectful address to all who love virtue.

To be posted everywhere for the people to see it. Have respect for printed paper, [*i. e.*, do not tear it down.]

The blocks are kept in a shop in Tsiang-lan street, in Canton, where kind persons can get as many copies struck off as they wish.

True translation.

S. WELLS WILLIAMS,

Secretary and Interpreter to United States Legation.

These proclamations and papers were preceded and have been followed by others from other officers and parties in China, setting forth in strong language the character, tendency, and effect of this trade in Asiatic men. The facts which come to us from China, the documents published by American and English officials and residents, the consular action there and consular despatches to the home government,

compel us to believe that no language can depict too strongly the fearful character of this slave trade of the nineteenth century.

In a memorial of Chincha shipmasters to the right honorable the lords of the privy council of trade, it is written: "All the American shipmasters at the Chinchas, from the northern as well as the southern States, declared they never saw or heard of slavery approaching that of the middle island of the Chinchas in misery."

The Earl of Clarendon, in a letter to Mr. Sullivan, says: "Her Majesty's government learns with deep regret that by British agency and under the British flag these Chinese laborers have been brought to the Chincha islands, and placed in a state of slavery more horrible than any yet recorded."

The attention of the government of the United States to the coolie trade was again invoked by Hon. William B. Reed, United States minister, &c., &c., to China, in an official letter dated Macao, January 13, 1858. In this letter Mr. Reed refers to the case of the American ship *Kate Hooper*, of Baltimore, which sailed from Macao on the 14th of October, 1857, for Havana, with 650 coolies on board. The registered tonnage of the ship was 1,488 $\frac{5}{8}$ tons. At Angier the ship was reported in distress. The master stated the cause of trouble to be that the sight of land near Gaspar straits so excited the coolies that they rose in mutiny. They were driven below and kept there. This was about three degrees south of the equator. The coolies tried to burst open the hatches and set fire to the ship. Five of them were killed, several others wounded, and twenty of them closely confined. The master of the ship, Captain Jackson, addressed a letter to the American consul at Batavia, dated Angier, November 13, 1857, giving his account of the "mutiny" and calling for aid. A copy of this letter was forwarded to Mr. Reed, and in his reply, dated December 14, 1857, he says: "I am trying to devise some mode by which I can stop at the clearing ports this vile traffic, which is contrary to the laws of China. In order to do so, I shall need precise statements of facts, and if you can furnish me with one in connexion with the *Kate Hooper* I shall be glad. The papers here make out the case worse than you do, bad as you report it. Let me have the truth."

In his letter of January 13, 1858, Mr. Reed refers to another case of the American ship "*Challenge*," which sailed from Swatou for Havana with coolies, and was reported as having put into Singapore, in distress, having infectious disease on board, and having lost many "passengers." "Such," writes Mr. Reed, "is the almost uniform fate of vessels thus employed. Sickness, mutiny, and death, in some form of misery, and the number of laborers which reaches the place of destination though large is, after all, but a remnant. * * * * The voyages are rarely less than four months, with every extreme of temperature and every variety of exposure." Mr. Reed then refers to the action of his predecessors, and to the proclamation of Mr. Parker, which has been hereinbefore mentioned, assenting fully to the earnest disapproval by Mr. Parker of this traffic, and stating that the proclamation, unfortified by any sanction or penalty, had had a good effect. Mr. Reed did not consider himself authorized to direct consuls to withhold clearances when the local authorities fur-

nished the required certificates. "At Swatou, being an illegal port, there is no consul, no clearance, no semblance of law. It is said there is a Spanish consular agent there, an American by birth, his especial duty being to supervise this very traffic." Upon full consideration, Mr. Reed says that he deemed it best to attempt to arrest this traffic by a "warning, if not threat, which it will be for the government at home to carry into effect." He then recites the provisions of the fourth section of the act of Congress, of 20th April, 1818, and comments with much force upon the terms of the law and upon the possibility of holding them applicable to this trade. "At all events," he states, "I have felt myself authorized to try to arrest this pernicious traffic by a warning that all parties concerned, especially the owner and master, may expose themselves to the penalties of the law. With this view, in the case of the *Flora Temple*, now in these roads awaiting a cargo of coolies for Havana, and of the 'Wandering Jew,' said to be loading at Shanghai, I directed the consuls to advise the Spanish authorities and the masters of the ships that the traffic is, in my judgment, contrary to the laws of the United States." * * * * * "The answer of the Spanish consul general on the subject is a peremptory refusal. He receives a fee of five dollars for each coolie shipped. My power of intervention here is thus exhausted." * * * * * "There can be no doubt that this trade is utterly repugnant to the laws of China." * * * * * "On the 30th of November the intendant at Shanghai issued a notification, renewing a prohibition at that port," * * * * * "Should the interpretation which I have put upon the act of Congress not be sustained, and the prohibitions of the Chinese authorities be disregarded, then I hope the subject will attract the immediate attention of the President and Congress, so that if they agree with me in my opinion of this trade, effective legislation may be adopted. The remedy might be to extend the act of 1818 expressly to the case of Chinese coolies; or if still more stringent measures are thought expedient, to apply the provisions of the act of March 3, 1819, to the trade, and enable the President to authorize the seizure of coolie vessels at sea, and on capture here, the restoration of the Chinese to their native country. The American vessels engaged in this trade are first-class clipper ships, which must anchor in deep water, and cannot evade cruisers. The *Flora Temple*, at this moment in my sight in the Macao roads, is within musket shot of the *Minnesota*, and there her living cargo will be shipped." * * * * * "In making these suggestions, I have assumed that the government at home will agree with me in deeming the trade a mischievous one. My duty is done in bringing it to their attention, and in expressing my own opinion."

* * * * *

"Viewing it in any light, as a matter of humanity and policy, I deem it my duty to condemn this traffic, and to beg the early attention of government to its repression, so far at least as it is conducted in American vessels."

The last voyage of the *Flora Temple*, which was loaded with her living cargo, in the sight of Mr. Reed, at Macao, in January, 1858,

fitly and fearfully exposes the inhumanity of this vile traffic. The tragic story of her destruction has burdened, recently, the columns of our newspaper press, and the following account is extracted from a letter dated United States flag ship Powhatan, harbor of Hong Kong, December 12, 1859:

“A case recently occurred of which a friend has furnished me some particulars in addition to those given in a paper here by an individual concerned in the traffic, and on board the ship at the time of the disaster. It is a tale of horror never exceeded by anything in the records of the ocean. The *Flora Temple*, as I am ashamed to confess, was an *American* vessel, but chartered by English residents here, who are fully responsible for all which followed.

“The *Flora Temple* was as fine a merchant ship as ever entered the sea of China, as is asserted by competent judges. Lying off Macao, all arrangements were made to secure a full cargo of coolies by the means I have mentioned. They were cheated, inveigled, or stolen, and either taken directly to the ship, or else confined in the barracoons in Macao till the ship was ready to sail for Havana, the crew numbering fifty, and the coolies *eight hundred and fifty*. Leaving Macao, October 8, Saturday, the deceived and stolen coolies soon learnt their cruel destiny, and as all injured and betrayed men would do, resolved to attempt to avert it, however desperate the chances. They had no arms, and therefore had to struggle with every disadvantage in the effort of recovering their liberty. A party collected on the deck on Tuesday morning, before the shores of their own loved country had forever disappeared from their eyes, and rushing upon the guard, a single individual, a fight ensued in which the guard was killed. In the meantime the captain, Johnson, hearing the noise, hurried upon deck with his revolver, and his brother and an Englishman interested in the kidnapping with him, both also armed with revolvers, who discharged half a dozen rounds into the coolies, who were thus driven back, and defeated in their attempt to recover their liberty. How many were killed and wounded it is for the interests of the kidnappers not to tell, and the *dead* also tell no tales.

“Nor can they tell the cruel treatment they received before they were driven to this desperate act—treatment, as they well knew, which was only a foretaste of what awaited them. Nor do the officers of the ship or the Englishman on board, who was trading in stolen human flesh, inform the world of the course they took towards these miserable, deceived, and helpless men, when they were overpowered and defeated in their most justifiable attempt to assert their liberty. But a friend informs me that they were driven below deck, and confined there like felons, almost without light and air, and where, crowded together, so large a number in so small a space, the greater part must inevitably have perished in the long middle passage. Think of 850 human beings, all full grown men, pressed into this contracted, rayless, airless dungeon, in which they were to be deported from China to Havana, all the long way over the China sea, the Indian ocean, and the Atlantic.

“On the following Friday, October 14, while sailing over the China sea, at half past 7 o'clock in the evening, the vessel struck upon

a reef which is not laid down in the charts, a gale of wind in the meantime blowing, and the sea running high. Every effort was made to save the ship by the officers and crew; the poor coolies, battened down beneath the deck, being allowed no chance to aid in saving the ship or themselves. Although the yards were 'braced around,' and the ship 'hove aback,' she struck first slightly, and then, soon after, several times with a tremendous crash, the breakers running alongside very high. Pieces of her timbers and planking floated up on her port side, and after some more heavy bumps she remained apparently immovable. The water rapidly increased in the hold till it reached the 'between-deck,' where the 850 coolies were confined. While this was going on, indeed almost immediately after the ship first struck, the officers and crew very naturally became afraid of the coolies for the treatment they had received, and the captain ordered the boats to be lowered, not to save the coolies in whole or in part, but to preserve himself and crew. These boats, even under favorable circumstances, were not more than sufficient for the officers and crew, showing that no provision had been made for the poor coolies in case of disaster. The boats passed safely through the breakers, leaving the ship almost without motion, all her masts standing, her back broken, and the sea making a clear breach over her starboard quarter. When the boats left the ship and steered away without making one effort to save the 850 coolies, or allowing them to do anything to save themselves, with their last look towards the ship they saw that the coolies had escaped from their prison through doors which the concussion had made for them, and stood clustering together, helpless and despairing, upon the decks, and gazing upon the abyss which was opening its jaws to receive them. My friend assures me that he knows these poor creatures were completely imprisoned all the night these terrible occurrences were going on, the hatches being 'battened down,' and made as secure as a jail door under lock and bars.

"The ship was 300 miles from land when it struck, and after *fourteen days* of toil and struggle, one of the boats only succeeded in reaching Towron in Cochin-China; the three other boats were never heard of. Here the French fleet was lying; and the admiral at once received the captain and his boat's crew on board one of his ships, and besides, at request, sent one of his vessels to the fatal scene of the disaster, where some of the wreck was to be seen; but not a *single coolie*! Every one of the *eight hundred and fifty* had perished! Whether the British coolie traffic is any better than the African slave trade in its palmyest days, every one may decide. Nor is this a solitary case; hundreds could be adduced of equal horror and barbarity, if not ending in the same catastrophe. Think of it for a moment, and a moment is as much as human nature can well endure. *Eight hundred and fifty human beings*, having parents, wives, children, brothers and sisters, and all the human sensibilities and sympathies like ourselves, decoyed, deceived, or stolen, forced on board a ship, shot down like dogs when they attempted to escape from their floating prison, fastened down between decks while the ship was striking upon the rocks and going to pieces, and all in the dark night, which their miserable quarters made still darker, half drowned in water, which was rapidly

gaining about their half-naked bodies, and half-drowned in the ship before they sunk in the deep, while the dismal winds howled over them a melancholy funeral dirge even before the funeral; at length, the ship utterly deserted of officers and crew, and the doors of the horrible prison of the coolies thrown open by the violence of the surges which the humanity of the officers would not open, these miserable beings rush upon deck, and stand in compact crowds gazing upon the fearful scene. But help there was none; hope there was none; every boat had been taken; every officer and seaman had managed to save himself, and abandoned to certain death the eight hundred and fifty innocent men they had decoyed or stolen! There they stood, gazing, shrieking, helpless, till the ship broke, and the surge rolled over them, and their voices were hushed forever. But 'the sea shall give up its dead,' and witnesses shall come up revealing all the villanies and horrors of the English coolie traffic."

The cases brought by your committee to the attention of Congress of American ships filled on American account, preclude us from condemning the foreign trade while our own American trade is conducted unrebuked by law. At present "the beam" is in our own eye.

On the 7th of December, 1857, Mr. Reed, in a note addressed to S. B. Rawle, esq., United States consul at Macao, inquired of him whether and how frequently he had been called upon as consul to give his official attestation to contracts for the shipment of Chinese laborers. In his reply, dated December 10, Mr. William A. Macy, deputy consul, states that no certificate was required from the American consulate when coolies were carried in an American vessel, "but it has been stated that each of the coolies must have a passport from the Spanish consul residing here, and the captain a certificate of compliance with the Spanish regulations." "Two vessels," Mr. Macy adds, "have loaded this year for the Havanas, with these Chinese laborers, and in the absence of any authority to restrain them, they have been simply warned of the consequences as laid down in the decree of Dr. Parker on this subject, and required to furnish evidence that they were not violating the general passenger act." * * * "I trust some steps may be taken to restrain American vessels from engaging in the business hereafter."

From the commencement of this trade until the present time, the Representatives of our government at China, co-operating, as far as practicable, with the official agents of that government, have earnestly striven by warning, proclamation, remonstrance and threat, to prevent American vessels from engaging in it. But their efforts have been ineffectual. By Dr. Parker's proclamation, some who had not before known what manner of trade it was, were induced to abandon it. It has, however, grown up rapidly into a mammoth slave trade, abhorrent to humanity, and defiant of law, human and divine. When the *Flora Temple* was in the Roads awaiting her cargo of coolie merchandise, appeals were made, by the direction of Mr. Reed, to the Spanish consul general and to Captain Cole, master of the ship. But they were made in vain. Mr. Macy, in his official note to Mr. Reed dated 8th January, 1858, says: "Having exhausted the resources at present in our power, I do not see that there remains any-

thing further to be done until either the courts at home decide the question authoritatively, or until it shall please Congress to pass a definite act prohibiting or limiting this traffic, at once nefarious and dangerous. The difficulty of treating with the matter here, is greatly enhanced by the fact that the contracts for vessels are made in the United States, and the masters feel themselves quite unable to turn back after their arrival in so distant a port."

In his reply to the remonstrance of Mr. Rawle, the consul of the United States, Nicasio Cariete y Moral, consul general of Spain, uses the following language: "Allow me, sir, to say that it does not belong to me to ascertain whether the American ship owners and masters, in chartering their vessels, infringe the laws of their country or not; they must answer to their own government in case of any infraction, and take upon themselves all the consequences thereof; but these must never recoil upon those Spaniards who, in good faith, have made a contract as formal and as clear in every country of the world, as is the chartering of a ship."

Captain John M. Cole, master of the *Flora Temple*, in his reply to Mr. Macy, says, under date of January 7, 1858: "My instructions from the owners of the ship *Flora Temple*, direct me to convey passengers from this port to Havana. I see nothing to justify me in acting in disobedience to their orders."

Early in the month of January, 1858, the American ship "*Wandering Jew*" was at Shanghai, about to take in a cargo of coolies for passage to Cuba. Efforts had been previously made by Mr. Reed to prevent this emigration. An earnest remonstrance by "See, Intendant of the Soo, Sung, and Tae Circuit," was addressed to William Knapp, jr., esq., United States vice-consul at Shanghai. Mr. Knapp replied to this communication from the United States consulate by letter to "See, &c., &c.," dated 16th December, 1857, and in the course of his letter, he says: "On yesterday I summoned him" (the master of the ship) "to appear before me, and after a close examination into the matter, I find he has no intention to take coolies from here to Havana, but to take Chinese passengers from Woosung to Amoy! He is ready and willing to give me a guarantee or bond to that effect, as is also the merchant, Mr. Conolly. I think there is no Chinese law to prevent Chinese subjects from going voluntarily from one part of the empire to another, and I have most respectfully to request that your excellency will order the inspector of customs to give the captain of the *Wandering Jew* his port clearance, that he may proceed to sea without further delay." On the 23d of December, Mr. Knapp addressed a second letter to his excellency, See, &c., referring to his former communication, which had not been answered, repeating his former statements, that he had clearly examined and found that it was not the intention of the master of the ship or of the British merchant (the charterer) to take Chinese subjects to foreign lands, but to transport passengers from one part of the country to another, and demanding a port clearance. Mr. Knapp says: "I have come to the conclusion that if a port clearance is not granted before four o'clock, I will give the captain his papers and allow him to proceed to sea." Mr. Knapp soon afterwards ceased to be vice-consul of the United

States at Shanghai, and in a letter from Albert L. Freeman, esq., his successor in office, to Mr. Reed, dated Shanghai, January 26, 1858, Mr. Freeman states: "I regret to find that the views entertained by yourself on the subject applying to the case of the American ship 'Wandering Jew,' have not occasioned a more prompt and decisive attempt on the part of my predecessor to put a stop to it." *

* * * "this vessel received her port clearance from the Chinese authorities, on the assurance of Mr. Knapp that he had obtained from the captain and consignees of the ship a guarantee, (amount not stated,) the same to be forfeited in the event of his loading with coolies for the purpose of transporting them to Cuba. This guarantee, if any such existed, is not to be found. Mr. Jenkins knows nothing of such a paper. A day or two after, Mr. Knapp gave the ship her papers, and she dropped down the river to an anchorage outside of Woosung, some twenty miles from this, where she now lies. During the past five or six weeks she has been engaged in loading with coolies. It is currently reported and believed that the delay she has experienced has been caused by the interception of some three hundred coolies by the local authorities ere they were put on board. It having become reported that illegal and unjustifiable means are being taken by the captain and officers of this vessel in order to obtain coolies, such as stealing, kidnapping, and the various forms of false pretences, I shall to-morrow morning go down the river in company with an interpreter, and a mandarin sent by Taoutie, to institute an investigation of the matter; and I shall then convey to the captain a written expression of your views, warning him against this violation of the law, and informing him that should he proceed to sea with coolies on board for the purpose of transporting them to Cuba, there to be held to service or labor, steps will be taken to lay the matter before the law officers of the United States government immediately on his arrival in the United States, to institute a prosecution for a violation of the act of Congress in such case provided." * * *

Mr. Freeman, who seemed to be determined that the truth of these charges against the Wandering Jew should be investigated, attempted, on the 27th of January, to visit that ship, but was prevented by the interference of one of the foreign inspectors at the custom-house, who detained the cutter "Halcyon," which had been placed at Mr. Freeman's disposal. Upon application to his excellency See, a steamer, the Chinese steamer Confucius, was granted to him, and in that vessel he proceeded at once, accompanied by Mr. Jenkins, the interpreter, and the marshal of the United States, to examine this vessel. In the course of the previous night the vessel had dropped from her moorings about five miles down the river, and when the Wandering Jew was reached, her sails were spread and the crew were getting her under way as quickly as possible to proceed to sea. Mr. Freeman made known to the captain the object of his visit, and stated to him that if upon examination it appeared that any coolies were on board who were there "against their own free will and consent," they would be taken out. It was soon apparent that illegal means had been used in procuring the coolies. Many of them stated that a Chinaman in the employ of Mr. Andrew Conolly, the consignee of the vessel, had

promised to give them three dollars, provided they would go on board a foreign ship to work for a few days; others stated that they were to receive three hundred cash, per day, to come to Shanghai to serve as soldiers; others were to form a part of a mandarin retinue. Nearly every one was questioned in regard to the conditions under which he came on board; and but few were found that came on board with any idea of going to a foreign country. Many of the coolies upon being informed that they were to be taken to a foreign country, begged to be allowed to go on shore, as they had wives and families dependent on them. Out of two hundred and thirty-six coolies on board, one hundred and seventeen were found to be there against their own free-will and consent. These men were released, placed on board the *Confucius*, carried to Shanghai, and delivered to the authorities. The coolies that remained in the ship were made to understand their situation, but desired to continue on board. They were mostly beggars without ties of any kind in China, who preferred to encounter untried dangers in other lands rather than to return to the suffering and starvation that awaited them at home.

Mr. Freeman learned on board the ship that the captain had intended to proceed to Amoy, to complete his charter load, and the captain was notified that if more coolies were placed on board, his papers would be demanded until Mr. Reed could decide upon the proper course to take in the premises. The *Wandering Jew* sailed down the river without having received any more coolies at Shanghai, but it was believed from intimations made by the master that he intended to fill up his cargo at Amoy and proceed to Cuba.

The consignee of the ship was summoned before the British consul, and fined two hundred dollars. The captain denied having given any bond or guarantee that he would not take coolies from Shanghai at the time his papers were retained.

Mr. Freeman, by an official note dated the 29th of January, 1858, addressed D. B. Robertson, esq., the British consul, stating what had been done in this case, and informing him of the complicity of Mr. Conolly, the British consignee. Mr. Robertson replied by official note dated January 30, expressing great satisfaction with Mr. Freeman's action, and saying, in close: "I have little doubt that our joint endeavors to put a stop to this inhuman traffic will meet with the happiest results and the approbation of our respective government." The *Wandering Jew* arrived at Amoy on the 3d of February, but it is believed that she left that port without increase of cargo.

The untiring efforts of Mr. Reed, the minister of the United States at China, following with great energy and with evident good-will, the policy pursued by Dr. Parker, entitle him to the grateful thanks of his countrymen. In an official note to the vice-consul at Amoy, dated February 15, 1858, Mr. Reed says: "I am resolute to do all in my power to put an end to this infamous traffic, in this instance, carried on in defiance of all admonition, by a most discreditable combination between an American master and lawless British shippers."

In his official despatch to the honorable Secretary of State, Mr. Cass, bearing date February 26, 1858, Mr. Reed writes as follows:

“To this (the case of the Wandering Jew) I have nothing to add beyond the renewed expression of my opinion that this coolie trade to the West Indies is a traffic of the most pernicious kind, morally, socially, and economically. During the year 1857 upwards of six thousand were shipped from Macao alone to Havana.” * *

* * “Our ships carry coolies without a chance of return, on a voyage of five months, in every variety of climate, and have no restrictions imposed on them as to numbers or discipline. A large clipper ship, called the Norway, * * * has just arrived at this anchorage, armed and equipped for carrying coolies to Cuba. She is now loaded with coal on government account, and so soon as she discharges this cargo it is understood to be the intention of the master to proceed to Macao or Swaton to take, it is said, two thousand coolies on board.”

On February 18, 1858, Mr. Reed had issued a circular to the consuls of the United States at each of the five ports, calling their attention to this traffic in American ships and to the necessity of arresting it. It was the opinion of Mr. Reed that the “contract for labor or service under which the coolie is shipped” was a contract in violation of the laws of the United States. Acting on this opinion, it was not material in law whether the shipment was with or against the consent of the coolie, if on arrival he was to “be disposed of to be held to labor or service.” The fact that the coolie was kidnapped or entrapped or seduced, increased the moral guilt of the parties concerned in the traffic. In his circular Mr. Reed describes this trade thus: “It is a trade in which, as revolting to humanity in its processes and results, no respectable American citizen will participate.” “It is a trade which endangers the lives of the mariners engaged in it, and, of course, works terrible suffering and mortality among its principal victims, the coolies themselves.” Particular instructions are then given to the consuls as to the course to be pursued by them upon ascertaining that American ships were to be loaded with coolies for any foreign port “under contract for labor or service.” But the legal opinion of Mr. Reed as to the liability to punishment under existing laws of parties concerned in this trade has been held by the Hon. J. S. Black, Attorney General of the United States, to be erroneous. The following is an extract from Judge Black’s letter to the Secretary of State:

ATTORNEY GENERAL’S OFFICE,
Washington, March 11, 1859.

SIR: * * * I am of opinion that such trade (the coolie trade) does not come within the provisions of the act of Congress prohibiting the slave trade. All the communications of the American commissioner show that the coolie trade is sometimes accompanied by cruel circumstances calling for restraint or prohibition. No remedy seems to be afforded by existing laws. The evil is one which Congress alone can remedy.

I am, respectfully, your obedient servant,

J. S. BLACK.

Hon. LEWIS CASS, *Secretary of State.*

It remains for Congress, therefore, to determine whether the flag of the United States shall continue to encourage and protect a traffic that, by the concurring judgment of our public functionaries abroad, and of the government of China, and of all men unbiased by selfish interests, who have witnessed the conduct of this trade at the Chinese ports or its effect upon the coolie emigrant at his Cuban home, is condemned as unchristian and inhuman, disgraceful to the merchant and the master, oppressive to the ignorant and betrayed laborers, a reproach upon our national honor, and a crime before God as deeply dyed as that piracy which forfeits life when the coasts of Africa supply its victims.

On the tenth of April, eighteen hundred and fifty-eight (April 10, 1858,) Mr. Reed, before leaving Shanghai, again addressed the Department of State in continuation of his previous despatches. In the course of this communication, referring to the coolie trade, Mr. Reed expresses the hope that the course he had taken had tended to increase the odium of the traffic and "to separate from the lawless and defiant men who are yet engaged in it those shippers and merchants who are sensible to public opinion and can be deterred from iniquity by such sensibility alone." He reiterates the views theretofore "earnestly expressed," and hopes that "Congress will make such provision as to give the representative of the United States here some surer weapons of prevention than notifications and protests."

On the 28th of April, Mr. Reed forwarded with his dispatch of that date, to the State Department, further correspondence in relation to the coolie trade. In a letter to him from the vice-consul of the United States at Amoy, Mr. E. Doty, under date of March 17, Mr. Doty refers to a conference he had had with the Taoutai of Amoy, &c., concerning the circular of Mr. Reed, and states that while that official expressed great desire to put a stop to this business, there was "hesitancy on his part to commit himself, arising, as I (he) inferred from allusions, from the fear of doing something which the English may not approve." Mr. Doty says "that he had addressed a note to the British consul in charge, and also an official letter to the Taoutai himself, which was done at the request of that officer, in order, as he signified, that he might thus 'see his way more clear to act by issuing a proclamation or otherwise.' The desire of Mr. Doty was to induce the local authorities publicly to announce that the coolie trade was illegal, and that no port clearance would be granted to vessels engaged in it. Such action, however, should affect vessels of all nations, and it was feared, unless the officers of the British government acted in unison with our own, that the local authorities would act very inefficiently if at all." The letter of Mr. Doty to his excellency Su-to, Taoutai, &c., was dated March 15, suggesting that in case any American vessel should arrive at the port of Amoy for coolies, he (Mr. Doty) should at once notify the collector of the port that he might refuse to the vessel the "grand chop," without which the vessel could not leave the port; and also suggesting that if the local authorities should suppose that any American vessel had coolies on board, they should notify Mr. Doty, who would then, in connexion with the authorities, "examine the vessel and adjudge the case."

Mr. Doty, on the same day, addressed the British vice-consul in charge, referring to the expressed opinions of our minister, Mr. Reed, and recommending, in order, "if possible, to put an end to this nefarious business," that immediate notice should be given to the local authorities of any intended shipment from any "treaty port," so that the grand chop or port clearance should be withheld; and also that the aid of the consul should be given at once on request of those authorities for the examination of vessels on board of which Chinese subjects were detained against their will. Mr. Doty added that it would be an encouragement to the Taoutai to have the "favorable influence and approbation" of the British vice-consul. The reply to the note of Mr. Doty, made by W. Raymond Gingell, esq., British vice-consul in charge, bears date March 18, 1858. It states that "her Majesty's government, as far as in them lies, are determined to redress and punish the many abuses which have been connected with the shipment of Chinese coolies in British vessels, and to this end have her Majesty's consuls been instructed. I have only to add that it will afford me great pleasure to be enabled in any way to co-operate with you."

In his despatch dated at Shanghai, September 1, 1858, addressed to the Secretary of State, Mr. Reed again invites attention to the subject of the traffic in coolies, between China and the West Indies, expressing his fears that unless despatches are then on the way to him containing the views of the government he may be obliged to leave without knowing whether the preventive measures he had adopted would be approved or not. If approved he says: "It is much to be regretted that the knowledge of the fact cannot be communicated to the unscrupulous men who are engaged in this infamous traffic and a new warning be given." If not approved: "It would be gratifying to me to know at least that I was sustained by the government in the view I take of the trade, even though no existing law can be found to apply to it."

Mr. Reed then refers to a communication he had received from the consul at Amoy, dated July 19, reporting a decrease in the coolie trade and alluding to embarrassments and difficulties which had attended a recent attempt to load with coolies a large British steamer, the "Cleopatra." But he afterwards adds: "I regret to say later intelligence has reached me that a new impulse has been given to the trade, and that a number of American ships are now in China and more are expected to take large cargoes from Hong Kong and Macao to the Havana. I do not attribute in any way the increase of this business to the sudden stoppage of the passenger trade with California in consequence of the act of the legislature of that State, lately made known here, which will affect a very different description of emigrants. Such as can go thither, able and willing to pay their passage and return, have no resemblance to the wretched coolie who is decoyed and penned up in the barracoons at Macao and is stowed away between the decks of the English and American ships now engaged in the traffic. In the views which I have expressed as to the coolie trade to the West Indies, I am conscious of no other impulse than that of ordinary sympathy with human suffering. There is an invariable

law as to the fate of a large number of these poor creatures on their way from the east to the west—disease, suicide, or death from barbarous treatment. As certain is their doom, when they arrive, irredeemable slavery under the form of freedom. In its ultimate results I believe this Asiatic slave trade is as bad if not worse than the African slave trade ever was. The African may assimilate and is cared for. The Asiatic is kept isolated so long as in numbers he is weak, and when the numbers become great, the isolation still continuing, there comes a certain and fatal struggle, in which the Asiatic as the weakest falls. It has been so in Java, in Luzon, in Borneo. So before long will it be in Cuba. All that I have hoped for is that some means shall be taken to prevent American ships from being used in this traffic.”

Soon after the date of this letter it was manifest that the coolie traffic was becoming more organized. The Spanish government had interfered to prevent the coolie shipments to Cuba. It was hoped that such interference would contribute much to its effectual restraint. But this hope was short lived. On the 24th of September, 1858, Gideon Nye, jr., esq., deputy consul of the United States at Macao, in an official note of that date to Mr. Reed, states as follows: “I have now the honor to acquaint your excellency with a complete reversal of the policy of the Spanish authorities * * * * the last mail having brought a despatch to the consul general of Spain rescinding the former order for the suppression of coolie shipments to the Island of Cuba. As my informant saw the last as well as the former despatch there can be no doubt of the existence of orders which seem so contradictory. The coolie question therefore enters upon a new phase in respect to Cuba, and it remains for me to await further developments in observance of your instructions.”

Before leaving China on his return to the United States, Mr. Reed wrote to the Secretary of State on the 5th of November, 1858, enclosing a copy of a letter of Mr. Nye, and communicating the intelligence that the Havana coolie trade was being reopened under new orders from the Spanish government. Mr. Reed adds that “M. de Montigny, the French consul at this port, (Shanghai,) informs me of the intention of the French government to organize an extensive scheme of Chinese emigration to Algiers and the West India colonies. On this painful subject I have nothing further to say.”

A letter written from Hong Kong, and dated December 12, 1859, says:

“The coolie trade has lost none of its activity or horrors. The slave trade itself on the coasts of Africa is not more atrocious, while all the horrors of the ‘middle passage’ belong to a coolie ship as well as to an African slaver, and at the same time that ‘middle passage’ embraces the China sea, the Indian ocean, and the Atlantic, instead of the Atlantic only. The great centres of the traffic are Amoy, a port about two hundred miles north of Hong Kong, and Macao, the old Portuguese town, twenty-five miles distant, on the Canton river, where barracoons are erected, and dealers have their residence, who make their arrangements with pirates and others to secure coolies by promises, however false, if they can, or by violence, if that is neces-

sary. Fair promises are made in abundance, tempting to these poor starving people, but promises made only to be broken, by which great numbers are decoyed and then forced into these barracoons, and thus detained, unable to communicate with their friends or the authorities, while others are seized while asleep in their junks by night, or quietly occupied in their fields or gardens, or other humble avocations, and with hands and feet tied are hurried off to the barracoons where they are imprisoned till the ship is ready, to which they are carried by night or stealthily by day, notwithstanding all their entreaties and protestations, and despite all their feeble resistance."

"A letter to the Newark (N. J.) Mercury, dated Hong Kong, December 14, 1859, alludes to recent transactions in the coolie trade, and says:

"One hundred and fifty coolies were liberated on the 8th instant by the authorities. They were found on board of a Macao passage boat, and were about to be taken to Macao, there to be sold to the coolie ship. They were from one of the up-coast ports, and had been 'contracted' with to labor at Macao. Recently at Whampoa the slave depots were surrounded by Major Tan, and the entire slave community were released. At the same place, not long since, fifteen brokers, who had been concerned in stealing natives and selling them into bondage, were captured and beheaded, and their heads exposed on poles; a warning which others will do well to heed. This trade is infamous to a degree, and it is a gratifying fact that the authorities are arousing to the importance of suppressing it."

The following, which is the latest account of a coolie tragedy, is extracted from the newspapers of March 24, 1860. The voyage now so fearfully interrupted is not probably the first voyage of the kind in which the Norway has been engaged. Mr. Reed, in his communication to the Department of State, dated April 10, 1858, says: "A large ship of two thousand tons, called the Norway, fitted out expressly for this trade at New York, arrived at Hong Kong soon after my circular of the 18th February." Mr. Reed expresses the belief that the threatened penalties and some pecuniary embarrassments in which the parties interested were involved, prevented at that time the intended prosecution of the voyage.

"*Terrible Mutiny of Coolies at sea.—Thirty shot and over ninety wounded.*—We are indebted to the Merchant's News Room for the following: A very serious case of mutiny occurred on board the ship Norway, (of New York,) Capt. Major, on her recent passage from Macao to Havana, which came very near proving disastrously to the officers, passengers, and crew. The Norway sailed from Macao, November 26, with about one thousand coolies on board, and when five days out, at about six o'clock in the evening, the captain being below at the time, a mutiny broke out among the coolies, who set fire to the ship in two places and endeavored to force the hatches. Mr. Stimpson, of Boston, one of the matés, had charge of the deck, and the watch, with the exception of the man at the wheel, was aloft taking in sail, Mr. Stimpson rushed to the hatch and commenced the struggle. The crew from aloft and those below, tried to seize the boats and leave the ship, when the surgeon, an English gentleman, drew

his pistol and threatened to shoot the first man who dared to make that attempt.

"The crew then rallied and went to the assistance of the officers, and a fight ensued, which continued from six in the evening until after daylight the next morning. Thirty of the coolies were killed and more than ninety wounded before the mutiny was quelled. The captain then gave the coolies one hour to deliver up the arms in their possession; if they did not, he threatened to cut away the masts, set fire to the ship, take the boats and provisions and leave them to their fate. The mutineers soon came to terms.

"Capt. Major had his wife and two daughters with him, and also a lady passenger and child, but during the night the lady died of fright, and in the morning the child also died."

It is difficult to obtain satisfactory information as to the extent to which this trade has been carried on from the different ports in China, during the last ten years. At the illegal ports, where the largest shipments are made, no official returns are kept. Nor is it probable that parties engaged in such business, would be careful to disclose the extent of their iniquitous commerce.

The following statement, recently published, was furnished by a gentleman connected with the Chamber of Commerce, in New York, and is believed to be an approximation to the true import into the single port of Cuba:

"Over fifty thousand coolies have been shipped for Cuba alone in the past eight years from China. According to correct sources the following is a list of the vessels which brought Asiatic colonists to the Island of Cuba, from the first importation in 1847, to the 16th of September, 1859, showing the points from whence they were taken, the length of each passage made, number shipped, and the mortality up to the moment of landing. The following is a summary:

Average of vessels and emigrants.

Years.	No of Vessels.	Tonnage.	Chinese.		Died.
			Shipped	Landed.	
1847.....	2	879	612	571	41
1853.....	15	8,349	5,150	4,307	843
1854.....	4	2,375	1,750	1,711	39
1855.....	6	6,544	3,130	2,985	145
1856.....	15	10,567	6,152	4,968	1,184
1857.....	28	18,310	10,116	8,547	1,509
1858.....	33	32,800	16,413	13,385	3,029
1859.....	13	10,283	6,799	6,027	772
Total.....	116	90,316	50,123	42,501	7,622

"The above footing, representing the total number shipped, does not include a cargo of 757 landed in Cuba lately, so that the total should be increased to 50,880; and 220 more should be added to the mortality. The total number of deaths, therefore, during the period named, was 7,842. This is a fearful record, and affords sufficient evi-

dence of the inhumanity of the traffic. This does not show the full extent of this deplorable trade. Thousands have been lost between China and foreign ports, whose departure was not recorded.

"In the year 1856, the percentage of loss, according to the above table, was 19.24 per cent., (nearly one in five;) in 1857, 15.50 per cent.; in 1858, 18.45 per cent.; in 1859, 11.35 per cent.

"This list does not embrace the terrible disaster to the ship *Flora Temple*, last summer."

The treatment of the coolie slave at Cuba depends, of course, upon the character of the employer. But the nominal term of service is for five or eight years. What proportion remains alive after this first term, we have no means of knowing. It has not been pretended that any have returned to their homes; those who have survived the first term of years, have been powerless in the hands of men who would desire to retain them if valuable, and who would not be bound to support them if too enfeebled for work.

Herein the Asiatic coolie is more helpless than the African slave. The slave is claimed by some one as his property. It may be for the interest of an owner to support the health and promote the physical strength of his bondman. He is obliged by law to maintain him in sickness and in old age. The interest of the planter who buys the services of a coolie for a specified time is to get from him, during that time, the maximum amount of labor. At the end of the term, if his labor is wanted, there is no way of escape open against the will of the master; if his labor is not wanted, the law does not enforce support or compel the master to keep or to maintain the useless coolie.

On the 7th of December, 1859, since the commencement of the present session of Congress, a traveller visited Cuba, and his account of what he saw and heard, which has been published within a few weeks, gives us some knowledge of coolie life in Cuba. He writes as follows:

"But the object most revolting, and which continues to haunt my mind, and I think will till I die, was the aspect of the coolies. It seemed to me that human misery could sink no lower. Their doom is vastly worse than that of the slaves. Those wretched Chinese are lured to leave their country, as we were informed, with the promise that for their services for eight years they should be taken without expense to Cuba, be fed and clothed, and receive four dollars a month. Thus at the end of eight years they would have three hundred and eighty-four dollars. This seems like an immense sum to a poor Chinaman, to whom a cent a day is a very respectable competence. Thousands are thus induced to embark; none probably return. They are sold upon their arrival for about four hundred dollars. If their owner can wear them out in eight years, so that they die, he of course has nothing to pay. If he cannot, he sends them to some distant plantation, or sells them again to some one who still claims eight year's service. They are ignorant, debased, and powerless. There is no one to plead their cause, and their doom is sealed. I know not what the sins of Sodom were, but it is safe to say that there could be nothing there exceeding this iniquity." * * * * *

"Seeing a group of several hundred of these wretched coolies,

working in the blazing sun upon a road, I requested our driver to take us through them all. Such a spectacle of misery I never saw, or conceived of, before. Nearly all of them were naked to the waist. They were excessively filthy in person, and their countenances of the most abject debasement and joylessness. Several overseers with limber whips in their hands, were standing beneath the shade of trees, watching them and directing their work. It is said, however, to be unsafe to whip them." * * * * *

These facts are recorded by Mr. Abbott, who states, in a brief preface to his book, that he has kept his "eyes and ears open," and has recorded all that he had "seen, heard, and thought," which he believed would interest the public.

It might be hoped that his statements were exaggerated, if we did not know the cruel and mean iniquity in which the traffic begins at China. Such beginning fitly foreshadows its inevitable end.

Your committee are instructed to inquire into the expediency of prohibiting by law all American vessels from engaging in the coolie trade, or from transporting apprentices, so called, to the West Indies or other parts of the world.

They believe it to be within the power of Congress so to legislate, and that the time has fully arrived when such legislation is clearly demanded. Your committee therefore report the accompanying bill.

The first part of the paper is devoted to a general discussion of the problem of the origin of life. It is shown that the problem is one of the most important and interesting in the history of science. The author discusses the various theories of the origin of life, and shows that the most probable one is the theory of spontaneous generation. This theory states that life originated from non-living matter, and that it has since developed into the various forms of life that we see today. The author also discusses the evidence for this theory, and shows that it is supported by a large amount of scientific data.

The second part of the paper is devoted to a discussion of the evolution of life. It is shown that life has evolved from simple to complex forms, and that this evolution has been the result of natural selection. The author discusses the various theories of evolution, and shows that the most probable one is the theory of natural selection. This theory states that the fittest individuals of a species survive and reproduce, and that this process leads to the evolution of the species over time. The author also discusses the evidence for this theory, and shows that it is supported by a large amount of scientific data.

The third part of the paper is devoted to a discussion of the future of life. It is shown that life is likely to continue to evolve, and that it may eventually reach a stage of complexity that is beyond our current understanding. The author discusses the various theories of the future of life, and shows that the most probable one is the theory of continued evolution. This theory states that life will continue to evolve, and that it will eventually reach a stage of complexity that is beyond our current understanding. The author also discusses the evidence for this theory, and shows that it is supported by a large amount of scientific data.

The fourth part of the paper is devoted to a discussion of the role of life in the universe. It is shown that life is a unique phenomenon, and that it is the only known form of intelligence in the universe. The author discusses the various theories of the role of life in the universe, and shows that the most probable one is the theory of the anthropic principle. This theory states that the universe is the way it is because it is the only way in which life could exist. The author also discusses the evidence for this theory, and shows that it is supported by a large amount of scientific data.

